When new fields are prepared, the first work of clearing them falls to the men. This work is done with a knife and an ax. The shape of this latter tool is the same among all the tribes: a wooden handle with a bulge at one end like a club; and a long, narrow, triangular piece of iron embedded laterally in the handle.

After clearing the brush, the men pile the rubbish at the foot of the large trunks and set it on fire. The tree, undermined at its base, finally topples over and remains where it falls.

The women take charge of the other work of cultivation. This varies [57] very little from tribe to tribe, and even the various crops of manioc, maize, peanuts, rice, bananas, and sugar cane require only quite rudimentary special labor.

Manioc is the staple food of the tribes over most of the region we visited. The native cultivates both sweet and bitter manioc. The latter variety is the more widespread. To prepare the ground, the native woman uses an iron hoe, triangular in shape,

Fig. 37. Ax and Hoe from Lake Leopold II-Lukenie.

with a flaring base and a spike at the top. This piece of iron is embedded laterally in a rough-hewn wooden handle which bulges at the end like a club. The purpose of the club-like end is two-fold: it provides a better hold for the piece of iron, and it intensifies

1: Maes--38 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FOSI Monge FOSI
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the worker's efforts without, however, making the use of the tool too tiring.

After the first hoeing, the woman makes little mounds, 30 centimeters high on the average and spaced about 80 centimeters apart, and inserts four or five manioc cuttings into them.

The upkeep of the manioc fields is limited to one or two [58] hoeings to remove the weeds. Manioc requires extremely fertile soil. Its cultivation exhausts the soil to such a point that after three or four years the native must move his fields and abandon the cleared land.

Sweet manioc attains its maximum development at the end of a year, bitter manioc after 15 or 20 months.

Fig. 38. Initial Establishment of the Village of Longinpila in a Clearing, Bariru Tribe.

The manioc tubers or roots are gathered as the family needs them. The root is good to eat at any stage of growth and at any time of year. The maximum yield coincides with the maximum growth of the plant and not with its full maturity. The average yield varies between 12,000 and 14,000 kilograms per hectare. The native woman does not wait until the plants are fully developed to start exploiting the crop. She limits her harvest to a strict minimum throughout the rainy season. At this time the manioc, swollen with water, yields only a little flour and is easily spoiled by soaking.

1: Mees--40 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FOSS Mongo FOSS
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use peoples of the Fimi, Lake Leopold II, and the lower Lukenie, the cultivation of maize is quite rudimentary. On the other hand, we encountered large fields of maize among the Batoke and especially among the Bantomo of the Kapanda territories. It is well to note, however, that the intense cultivation of maize in that region was not due to any direct use of it by the native, but to the hope of selling it profitably to the traders and workers of Leopoldville-Kinshasa.

Maize is sown in seed holes, 30 to 60 centimeters apart. The holes are dug in cleared ground as the rainy season draws near. The maize shoots appear after four days. At this time the plants are quite vulnerable to the depredations of birds. The children keep watch over the fields from morning to night for four or five days and drive the birds away with their cries.

Care of the crop includes weeding and thinning out the plants. Maize is neither hoed nor propped. It is sometimes sown as an extra crop in manioc fields. The maturity of maize is marked by the yellow, dry spathes. The harvest takes place some time after its maturity. The maize stalks are pulled out by the women and children, and the ears are cut off on the spot and carried to the village. [60]

The cultivation of rice is unknown in the region we visited, except among the peoples of the Bena Dibele-Kole region. The ground is hoed before sowing. The rice is sown in seed holes during the first quarter of the rainy season. The care of the fields is limited to two or three weedings during the initial stage of the plant's growth. The crop must be guarded regularly and uninterruptedly from morning to night from flowering to harvest. The rice is cut with knives, ear by ear. The ears are gathered by the handful. These are put in loose sheaves and, after several days, piled in stacks. The threshing is done in the village by family groups. The native chooses a large, well-beaten area and uses long rods. Husking is done with a pestle in a wooden mortar. The husked rice is winnowed in baskets of rattan splints, which are circular and shallow with a reinforced rim. The average yield varies between 2,000 and 3,500 kilograms per hectare.

M [612]

262 The natives are familiar with two kinds of manioc, sweet and bitter.

Sweet manioc is not highly valued, owing to its insipid taste and the poor consistency of the chikwangue made from it.

252 Aside from the soaking, which is done only for bitter manioc, chikwangue is prepared in the same way whether the flour comes from sweet or bitter manioc.

The first harvest of manioc tubers takes place eight to ten months after planting. The natives, however, do not begin harvesting them in earnest until the second year. Only the woman [863] does this work.

[883] The manioc tubers are piled in large baskets carried on the back and taken to the soaking well, a pond of putrid, dirty, muddy water giving off a highly unpleasant odor of putrefaction and fermentation, which is reserved for this task.

28 462 The manioc roots remain submerged from five to eight days to make them ferment and thus eliminate their bitter taste. At the end of this period the woman returns to the pond, tucks up her primitive loincloth as high as possible and enters the swamp. She sinks in up to her knees, and plunging her hands and arms into the mire, she pulls out the roots one by one and throws them on the bank. When her supply seems sufficient, she piles the roots in her basket and goes to wash them in the river. Returning to the village, she cuts the tubers, lets them dry a little in the sun, and then peels them. The Bakete, Banfumungu, and all the tribes of the Fimi-Lake Leopold II-Lukenie region, up to the boundaries of Bobale and Balesa territory, chop the pieces of manioc root before reducing them to flour, while the Ipanga, Batitu, Yaelima and Bokala crush them between the fingers before throwing them between the fingers before throwing them in the mortar.

● 472 The chikwangue knife has a double-edged blade, a median rib, and a long, relatively broad oval form. It is pointed at both ends. One of these ends is [120] embedded in a wooden handle with a doubly concave vertical section.

The museum [Ed., Museum of the Belgian Congo] now has only two of these knives, but they are found in every native hut in the Kasai-Fimi-Lukenie region up to the Oshwe sector. It is, however, almost impossible to buy them from the natives. A woman, unable to do without her chikwangue knife a single day

I.Maes--85 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO22 Mongo FO32
Sakata FO43

and never having a spare one, will not let one go at any price.

A woman chops the manioc on a large wooden tray, a crude, slightly hollowed board roughly rectangular in shape among the Boreke, Bonfumunga, and Bobema, but circular among the Tumbo, Wadia, Monengere, Bolia, Bobaie, Bosakata, and Baloso.

After having chopped up the manioc tubers as finely as she can with the primitive tool at her disposal, the woman removes the woody fibers, remains of rind, and other hard bodies. She then takes the *etuti* with both hands and rocks it back and forth. While doing this, she is careful to shake the flour from time to time and to remove the impurities she finds in it.

When the flour is quite fine, the housewife sprinkles it with a little water, [121] kneads it, works it into

Fig. 67. Preparation of Manioc Flour among the Bobaie. Special Form of Knife to Chop Manioc.

a firm dough of a pale grayish-white color, and carefully removes every little trace of impurities. She then divides the dough into pieces the size of a cubic decimeter which she rolls into more or less symmetrical balls or into sausages 20 to 25 centimeters long. These balls or sausages are carefully wrapped in banana or *masisa* leaves, and the whole bundle is tied with very pliant rattan or raffia splints which serve as string.

1: Mass--66 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FOSS Mongo FOSS
Dongese Folk

Among the Ipanga, Batire, Bokala, and Tsalima, we never found the crushing pestle [Ed., a broad, short pestle]. Instead, the woman uses a long, cylindrical pestle on a wooden mortar, a rough plank, very thick and heavy, sometimes square, sometimes round, but always quite irregular in shape. Very often, the mortar is a basket of rattan or raffia spinm, rectangular and very shallow. Instead of crushing the manioc into flour, she kneads it and works the dough the same way and in the same mortar.

When the dough is sufficiently kneaded and all the impurities [122] have been removed, she rolls it into sausages and wraps them in banana leaves as we described above.

The Bamongo-Mongo and the Baskundu crush the manioc in large wooden mortars, roughly cylindrical in shape, and use very large pestles. The height of the mortars and the length of the pestles compel the women of that region to stand when preparing manioc flour, while in the Kasai-Fimi-Lukenie region, including

Fig. 68. Baboma Chopping Manioc.

the Ochwe and Bambuli sectors, the women are seated for this work.

Moreover, the former group cannot remove the fibers, hard bodies, and other impurities found in the flour in the course of their work, so they make a point of sifting it.

I. Mam--67 E-5 (1913-1916) 1924 FOR2 Mongo FOR2
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The little sieve-basket has the shape of a large calotte with the rim slightly raised and the bottom plaited in openwork.

The sifted flour is gathered in small heaps, then made into dough, rolled into small cakes, and wrapped in banana or manioc leaves in the way we have just described.

The chikwangue are cooked in the same way by all the peoples visited.

The woman lays a wooden grid in the bottom of an earthenware cooking pot. She pours in water up to the level of the grid,

Fig. 69. Mortar with Clay Pestle (Ekui) for Manioc, Banfumu Tribe.

lines the whole inner surface of the pot with banana leaves, and places the cakes or sausages one on top the other. She not only fills the pot, [123] but she piles them well above the rim and covers them with more banana leaves, which are tied together so carefully that the whole thing is hermetically sealed. The pot is placed on the fire for several hours. The chikwangue, then are cooked by the steam.

After being cooked, the manioc dough looks like very heavy bread, amber-colored, very slightly translucent on the edges, and of a rather soft consistency. This is chikwangue, the famous kwanga of the natives which plays the same role in their diet as bread does in ours.

Although the cooking method is the same everywhere we went, the pottery used for the cooking differs notably from one region to the next.

1: Mam--68 E-9 (1913-1914) 1924 FOSI Mongo FOSI
Yaelima

From Stanley Pool to the Bumbuli region, the natives use a large earthenware vessel, generally with very little decoration on the rough, irregular outside surface which is marked with vertical lines. [134]

The few specimens we collected are the only ones that the Museum of the Belgian Congo possesses.

The vessel is oval and elongated in shape, and the bottom is rounded off so little that the pottery cannot stand upright on a horizontal surface. The opening at the top is wide. Among the Bakwa and Benoko, the rim is slightly raised and tilts sharply, while among the Iyanga and Bolia, the rim is wider, and its slope is less accentuated. The latter pottery, moreover, is very often

Fig. 70. Yaelima Women Preparing Manioc.

decorated with two or three circular, impressed lines. As one advances eastward, the oval shape tends to disappear. The pot becomes spherical, the rim wider, and the impressed decoration more symmetrical and more painstakingly done.

Among the Bokala and Yaelima, the vessels used to cook the chikwangue have a bottom shaped like a spherical calotte, a rather wide, reversed rim, and a neck and body with sharp edges and distinct angles. The impressed decoration consists of two or three circular lines placed immediately above the bend

of the body. These parallel lines are intersected in three or four places by small groups of eight to ten little notches. In addition, the part of the body angling inward is quite often decorated with intersecting oblique lines. [125]

These types of pottery for chikwangue seem to be modern forms.

The very ancient kind, of which we happily were able to find a specimen still intact, has a less characteristic shape. The bottom is round and irregular; the body is more or less angled but without sharp edges; and the neck is slightly bent back but

Fig. 71. Mortar, Pestle, and Sifter for Manioc Flour among the Bankutu.

has no distinct plane surface.

The Bokala, Yaelima, etc., place a wooden grid at the bottom of the chikwangue vessel, line the inside with leaves, and pile the cakes of manioc flour in small mounds higher than the rim of the vessel. To keep these characteristic pyramids stable, they often tie a network of cords, a sort of net with large, wide meshes, to the molding of the neck. The top of this net can be opened or closed at will, and the chikwangue cakes are crammed in it as in a net. Sometimes the wooden grid is replaced by an earthenware shelf which extends beyond the rim of the vessel. This shelf is pierced with large round holes. This type of pottery, however, is quite rare. We were able to find only a few specimens.

I Maes--92 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
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Maize gathered before maturity is eaten raw or roasted over a low fire. The ears which are allowed to ripen on the stalk are carefully shelled, the kernels ground in a wooden mortar with a cylindrical pestle, and the flour is winnowed or passed through a sieve.

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The mortar used to make maize flour is made from a section of a tree trunk, with a rectangular opening hollowed in the outer surface and perpendicular to the axis of the trunk. These mortars are very crude, poorly worked, and quite rudimentary. Besides these, one sometimes find others which are better made, small

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Fig. 74. Batitu Women Shelling Maize and Preparing Vegetables.

cubes provided with a lug or a liana. Let us note, however, that among the Banfumu southeast of Tua we found a mortar of similar shape which the natives used to prepare vegetables.

The sieves used for maize flour in this region are also a special type. The sides are made in an open weave. The general form resembles that of a large bottle with a square bottom, cylindrical body, constricted neck, and slightly flared rim.

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The housewife mixes the maize flour with palm oil to form a somewhat thick dough. She wraps it carefully in leaves and boils it for 10 to 15 minutes. This dish, the mokwof of the Basakata-Mosengere, is served very hot, usually seasoned a little

We did not find this particular kind of pottery beyond the Batete area. The Ipanga-Yaelima, as well as the Bosongo-Mono and Benkundu, do not seem to be aware of its existence and, in any case, do not use it. [136]

I come now to the important subject of palm oil. We have already noted how frequently the native housewife uses it in preparing meals. This oil takes the place of the butter and fats used in European cooking. Gathering the clusters of palm nuts and making the oil are very important among all the tribes.

The remarks of Mr. Engels on this subject in his work on the Wangata [Ngata] are applicable to all the peoples we visited.

In each village one or several natives chosen from the nimblest and most daring (the local daredevils) specialize in gathering the clusters from the palm trees. They do this not only for themselves, but also for others for a slight fee.

Gathering these clusters is always somewhat dangerous. The native must climb to the top of palm trees which are sometimes

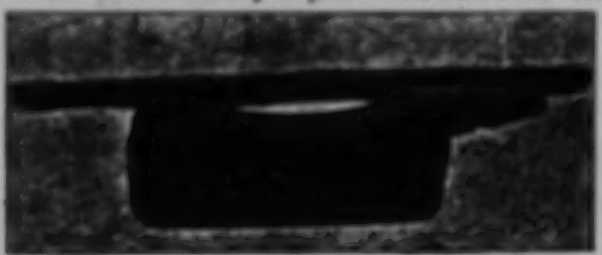

Fig. 78. Mortar and Pestle for Preparing Vegetables and Palm Oil.

20 to 25 meters high and, once there, must work hard to disentangle and sever the cluster.

The method of climbing varies according to the height of the palm trees. We noted two different procedures among all the tribes visited (see Fig. 77). [137]

If the palm tree is not high, the native climbs to the cluster by using the stubs of cut stems as steps. If the tree is very high, the native uses a rattan belt which encircles both man and tree trunk.

Nothing is more interesting than to watch a native climb up to the crown of a palm tree. He does it with truly extraordinary

263 wild [140] throughout the region we visited. All the tribes are acquainted with it and use it regularly.

222 462 252 263 Collecting and preparing pili-pili are tasks especially reserved to women. Upon returning from the fields, a woman spreads the fruits on a mat before her hut and lets them dry for five or six days. Sometimes she uses them fresh, mixing them with palm oil enhanced with salt. The native uses this sauce to season his dishes according to taste.

252 263 412 When the pili-pili is quite dry, the woman pulverizes it in a small wooden mortar with a cylindrical pestle or with a small piece of elephant's tusk. The shape of the mortars used for this purpose by the different peoples of the Lukenie varies a great deal. From the Bateke to the Batete, we found only very crude mortars hollowed out from the trunk of a tree. Among the Yaelima and Ipanga this utensil is more carefully worked and finished. The shape is rather like that of a small rectangular box without a lid, but provided with a lug. Among the Basongo-Meno and Bankutshu of the Bena Dibele-Kole region, we collected very crudely shaped and primitive mortars, while others were well made and carefully carved. All of them, however, have the common characteristic of an elongated vertical form, and most of them have a leg. The pestles are always quite long.

We thus again find three ethnic zones characterized by the special shape of these utensils. Of course, this fact alone could not serve as the basis of any ethnic classification, but it might have a relative value and importance in drawing general conclusions based on the whole assemblage of the ethnic characteristics of these various peoples.

263 Once reduced to a fine powder, pili-pili pepper is mixed with salt to season food after cooking. All sauces are spiced with a generous pinch of this pepper. Meat is sprinkled with it, or even stuffed with whole peppers.

When the natives are traveling, they merely pick a few pili-pili and squeeze the juice into the food while it is cooking. [141]

276 The kola nut also is very well known as a stimulant and is widely used. The kola tree is found nearly everywhere. The natives gather the fruit and chew it. Women do not indulge.

583 431 [412] on the husband's wealth). Theoretically, the knife should be an efamba. In practice it is sometimes possible to substitute an empũte in an attractive wooden sheath amply adorned with "copper-plated nails." At other times the knife and spears may be replaced by their corresponding value in bakonga. This is considered the most important [675] boɛ́ngo, and therefore no one gives up his claim to it. If the son-in-law cannot present it to his father-in-law immediately, he promises to do so later, and his father-in-law does not fail to make use of any opportunity to remind him of his promise. Some men insist on a wɛ́ko as pledge. Others are satisfied with a piece of loasi or a boɛ́ngɔ́ (splinter or part of the trunk of a palm tree), which the husband gives to the ndonga as a token of acknowledgement of his debt and as evidence of his willingness to pay it as soon as he has the means. Some men, however, insist so strongly on the boɛ́ngo that they will not accept the walo [146] before they have received it. Thus, one day recently, Lomanga d'Ifutɔ́ (Bongĩli) refused to accept the walo for his daughter Ekofo, engaged to Bokungũ w'akãyã (of Bongĩli, Ndongɔ́). He insisted that the father of the latter, Bokungũ w'is'ɛ́y' - Ingilã first go back to get his boɛ́ngo. Since he was unable to find five spears, he substituted for them a second knife and a copper ring; these were accepted by old Lomanga. Shortly thereafter the same thing happened to Bokungũ of Bontole (Bongĩli), who wanted to pay the walo for his fiancée Ngelɛ́ of Bomɔ̃mbo (Bombwanja), the sister of Bongondɛ́, clerk of the Bombwanja. The woman's family refused to take the bride price before receiving the ifakã l'akongã b'is'ɛ́y'ɔ́na boɛ́ngo.

2) Byĭkɔ́ byã nyang'ɛ́y'ɔ́na, "porcupines for the mother." [251] This present consists of two or three fresh or smoked porcupine. Bɛ́tomba, baatã birds, or bekɔ́sa fish may be substituted for them. The substitution of hens is not well regarded, because they are within the realm of the nkomĩ. If someone does not have the means to satisfy this requirement, he gives the mother two copper rings saying mãkã bakonga bãfɛ́ yɔsombe byĭkɔ́ bikɛ́, "here are two copper rings; go and buy yourself some porcupines." Fabrics are sometimes substituted nowadays.

326 411 The objects of iron made by the Mongo smith are as follows.

Bibui: all that is of iron

1. Likula: arrow.
2. Bosuki: arrow for hunting pigs; also used to cut copal and spear fish.
3. Bongelo: lance.
4. Ifombolo: lance.
5. Mpokwankoi: lance.
6. Liswa: axe.

326 412

Jokula: knives

1. Mombi; 2. Boli; 3. Bolengwa; 4. Lingonda; 5. Limenga; 6. Likodzi; 7. Efamba; 8. Momba; 9. More little knives; 10. Lizangi.

Basongo: needles

1. Ingwala.
2. Lokili: tattooing needle. [413]
3. Jyolo: small needle to get flea beetles out of the feet.
4. Efoli: small pin.

326 534 301 [189]

Ngonga: bells

1. Ngonga ea tosisi: bells worn on the hips by women and children so that as they walk the ringing will keep away the evil spirits.
2. Bongonga: a bell attached to the point of a war-lance which makes it like the head of a walking-stick but upside down.
3. Lingwete: little round bell worn on the wrist by men.
4. Elondza ea itumba: the war-bell. An oblong pipe [97] in the form of a long cup attached to a stick. It is struck with a piece of soft wood, and the sound travels surprisingly far.

These bells are all made of wrought iron.

7:Brown M-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FO32 Mongo FO32
Ntomba

a successor to replace a deceased woman, and thus maintaining the balance between the two families. Such wives were seldom killed, for they had relatives who cared for them and would object, and who had the power to do so by refusing to fulfil their obligations and by retaining the bride price already received. The group of men and women gathered together for execution thus comprised males and *bopika* women from the 'free' group (*bato*, as applied to all men and women not Batwa), and Batwa men and women whose owners had consented to their death. It sometimes happened that a man, seeing a woman among this group who took his fancy, might obtain her by paying for her in money or substituting one of his own slaves.

In some cases the executioner, *bomombo*, was chosen from among the family of the dead *nkumu*, in others he was selected from among the whole group of people over which the *nkumu* held sway. The man having been chosen, the knife is brought out of the house where it has been kept by some elder. This, a blade some sixteen inches in length, two-edged, decorated by alternating longitudinal lines of polished and blackened steel and inserted in a wooden handle, is sharpened on one edge, carefully wrapped in a plantain leaf, and laid away for use on the following day.

At dawn the prisoners are taken to the water and washed to clean them, inland towns accomplishing this purpose by dragging them up and down the village in the dew-drenched grass tied by a liana. The prisoners then are arranged in a V shape, the apex nearest the spot where the *nkumu*'s body is sitting in state. Low seats are made by resting a stick in the forks of two perpendicular ones, and this cross bar is straddled by the victim. His hands are tied behind his back and his head tied to a sapling securely fixed at one end in the ground, the other bent down sufficiently to allow for tying the head with considerable tension on the rope. When all is thus arranged an expert drummer begins to pound out a rhythmic beat, and the ceremony of handing over the knife takes place.

The executioner of the day is dressed in finery but no camwood powder is evident, for it is a time of mourning and not of rejoicing. He wears a hat with many feathers, a vine encircles his waist, and bracelets of the same his arms. Then the man who last occupied the position of executioner comes forward. An elder has already brought the knife wrapped in its leaf and also a heap of ash on a leaf, both of which are placed on the ground. The old executioner picks up the knife while the new one faces him. The former demonstrates with gestures how he used to go about his work, the motions, the attitudes, the fine arts of the task. Even though the executioner of the day may have had previous experience, this part of the ceremony must be gone through. Then, holding the knife aloft, the instructor raises his right leg at right angles to his body, bends it at the knee so that the shin hangs perpendicularly, and the new executioner passes underneath it, returning the same way. He now faces the old executioner, who lays the knife in his own hands, arms outstretched and palms open, the handle resting in his right palm, the blade in his left. The new man, facing his instructor, places his outstretched and open palms on the shoulders of the other, draws his hands down his arms, finally coming to the knife, which, because of its position is thus received, handle in the left hand, blade in the right. Releasing his right-hand grasp of the blade, he stoops, sprinkles the blade with some of the ash, then rubs his right hand in the dirt to remove all slippery sweat. Then still